It was hard to avoid some injuries in the violence brought about by a political revolution of so large a proportion. In our factory, 3-hundred people were injured. In the fighting, we used bricks, fists, then sticks, then iron bars, which were the most ever used. In the fighting, one comrade was killed.

NARRATION: In many instances, it took the army to restore order.

The Chinese share our uneasiness about the military's role and our tradition of civilian control.

Recently, there has been a major shift of regional military commanders.

But the army has proved loyal to Mao Tse-tung, and indispensable. . . and it too was changed by the cultural revolution.

For one thing: insignias of rank have been abolished. You can tell an officer, we were told, by his political consciousness. . . and by the four pockets on his uniform.

Ordinary soldiers have only two.

Another thing: the army has been more prominent in Chinese life. It now has a place in revolutionary committees everywhere . . . and in the classroom.

One of the biggest and still unsettled questions in China today is who should be educated.

The old way was to educate the sons and daughters of civil servants, the traditional elite.

The Chinese seem to have turned their backs on history. . . to educate a new class of workers, peasants and soldiers.

Of all the issues of the cultural revolution, this is the most urgent: to find and train successors to Mao's vision of the revolution.

Fu Tan University, Shanghai's biggest, was closed for three years by the cultural revolution. Its enrollment is still down by more than half.

These are some of the chosen few who have passed the test of the cultural revolution.

SOF: INTERVIEW, STUDENTS & TEACHER

DRASNIN: Where were you during the cultural revolution?

MAN: During the cultural revolution I was in a middle school. At that time I was -- I was a Red Guard, you know.

DRASNIN: You were a Red Guard?

MAN: Red Guard and -- took part in the . . .

WOMAN: (INDISTINCT)

MAN: Yes.

GIRL: Because during the cultural revolution, we are all study in the middle school, so we all joined Red Guard.

DRASNIN: What do you study?

MAN: Before I came to university, I wanted to study technology. Afterwards, I was informed to study English, so I am glad.

DRASNIN: You're glad to be studying English?

MAN: Yes.

PLA MAN: Because English is a weapon - a weapon. . .

WOMAN: In the struggle of life.

MAN: . . .in the struggle of life.

WOMAN: This is what Marx said.

DRASNIN: What do you want to do after you graduate from the university?

WOMAN: I want to be a teacher and as you know, the teacher is very important because a teacher will train successors.

DRASNIN: Do you plan to marry? Do you want to get married?

WOMAN: Yes, yes I like. . .

DRASNIN: You would like. . .

WOMAN: Now we are very young. After we graduate we reach the age we -- we I would like. . .

DRASNIN: You would like to be married.

WOMAN: Yes, after we reach the age, I would like.

DRASNIN: Would you like to have children?

WOMAN: Yes.

DRASNIN: How many?

WOMAN: Only one.

DRASNIN: Only one.

WOMAN: Yes.

DRASNIN: And you?

WOMAN: Well, now I do not want to think of this. Because now I feel that in the university I study. I only think of how to study well for the revolution. I don't want to think of this.

DRASNIN: You don't think about the future?

WOMAN: Sometimes I think about, but most of the time I don't think about it.

DRASNIN: Did you participate in the discussions and the debates here during the Cultural Revolution?

MR. LU: At first I was quite conservative. You see teachers were not so advanced as the students. I was a bit conservative.

Later on, I find why it is highly necessary to start the Cultural Revolution. I think that one of the problems that now we have solved is that "what's your aim in work?" and "what's your aim in life?" Well, actually, before the Cultural Revolution I was very worried about my personal gain. Now, when I cannot get famous I was worried. So actually I was not very happy because I did not achieve my aim.

But now after the Cultural Revolution, well, I think, you know, my aim in life has been correct; that is, well, I must serve the people and serve the community. Now I take the greatest happiness to teach the students. When I see the students make progress I feel very happy. But this I know: I think so, I have a great change taking place in myself.

(END OF STUDENTS AND TEACHER INTERVIEW)

NARRATION: Virtually no one in Shanghai has been left untouched by the bitter debate over how to interpret the thought of Mao Tse-tung.

The cultural revolution has changed many people's lives.

Sung Yu-ying is a peasant. She is the first one from her village to attend a university.

Wu Shueh-yun was a teacher. Now she is a factory worker.

Fan Di-shen, her husband, was a playwright. Now he is an administrator in a sewing machine factory.

Suen Lien-chung worked on an assembly line. Now he is in charge of political affairs for his factory.

Hsu Ching-hsien was director of the Shanghai Writers Union. Now he is a deputy mayor and a member of the central committee of the Chinese Communist Party.

This too is Shanghai, and much closer to the lives of most Chinese.

The dawn of the rice harvest is still the most important day on the Chinese calendar.

There are one-hundred-ninety-nine suburban communes in Shanghai, supplying the city with 3-thousand tons of food a day.

China's fundamental needs are inherited from a simpler age. Eight of every ten Chinese work to produce food.

Mao himself is a peasant, with a peasant's love of the land and distrust of city life.

The Chinese revolution was won in the countryside. Shanghai was everything the revolution was against; imperialism, inequality, poverty, the control of the many by the few.

The Chinese needed Shanghai, but they also needed to change it.

More important to Mao than the speed of change or economic development is preserving the ideals of revolution.

Mao wants to change not only how people live but how they think and act.

It is a revolution vast and experimental. There is no five-year plan for the modernization of man.

History shows that sooner or later every revolution turns conservative. The cultural revolution is Mao's monumental attempt to stop that from happening in China. For the moment, he has succeeded.

But this is China, which for a thousand years has absorbed shock after shock. . .from Mongols to Manchus, from imperialism to communism.

Communism is changing China, but China is also changing communism. The largest state in the world never changes its state of mind, completely.

We have seen a fragment, for a moment. And that moment may already be gone.